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October 20, 1948

Ma - Mr. Daniels:
 - Mr. Woodward:

DEPARTMENT OF STATE A/CDC/AR
 REVIEWED BY Z-17C HKE DATE 11/1/48
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The preparation of a Policy
 Statement with respect to the
 American Republics is, of course,
 a responsibility of ARA. I am
 submitting the attached outline not
 with any desire to encroach on that
 responsibility, but in the hope that
 it may prove useful to the ARA staff
 in reaching a decision about the
 drafting of an area Policy state-
 ment. My personal opinion is that
 the project is well worth undertak-
 ing at the present time.

George M. Butler

*See G M memo
 under 100-100000-100000*

S/P:GMButler:mw

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POLICY STATEMENT
THE AMERICAN REPUBLICS

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

October 13, 1948

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE

THE AMERICAN REPUBLICS

INTRODUCTORY COMMENT

The decision to prepare a Policy Statement covering the 20 Latin American countries was taken with full realization of the difficulties involved. It is dangerous to generalize about so large a group, but there seems to be enough common ground in the problems of our relations with the other American Republics to justify the effort to formulate U.S. objectives and policies applicable to all of them.

A half century of experience with the regional organization of the American States shows an encouraging record of successful achievement. All members of the Inter-American system also are members of the United Nations. The Charter of the Organization of American States expresses their resolution "to persevere in the noble undertaking that humanity has conferred upon the United Nations, whose principles and purposes they solemnly reaffirm". Among the principles set forth in the Charter which is the basis for the Inter-American system are: that international law is the standard of conduct of states in their reciprocal relations; that the solidarity of the American States requires the political organization of those States on the basis of the effective exercise of representative democracy; that economic cooperation is essential to the common welfare and prosperity of peoples; that social justice

and social security are bases of lasting peace; and that the American States proclaim the fundamental rights of the individual without distinction as to race, nationality, creed or sex.

Another factor which gives validity to a policy statement on an area basis is that the strategic position of the other American Republics brings their defense into intimate relationship to our national security. The United States has ratified the Inter-American Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance, signed at Rio de Janeiro on September 2, 1947. This Treaty contains terms designed to assure peace, to provide for effective reciprocal assistance to meet armed attacks against any American state, and to deal with threats of aggression against any of them. The High Contracting parties "reiterate their will to remain united in an inter-American system consistent with the purposes and principles of the United Nations"; and affirm as a manifest truth that "critical organization is a necessary prerequisite of security and peace, and that peace is founded on justice and moral order and, consequently, on the international recognition and protection of human rights and freedoms, on the indispensable well-being of the people, and on the effectiveness of democracy for the international realization of justice and security."

Finally, the Executive and Legislative Branches of the U.S. Government, as well as American public opinion, have given repeated evidence of approval of the necessity and desirability of close and cooperative relations with

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the other American Republics and continued development and strengthening of the Inter-American System. The views and actions of the United States Government and its representatives exert a great influence in the Latin American countries. Means exist, therefore, to attain our national objectives in the area as a whole, provided we exercise a wise and just leadership in the Organization of American States. The principles to which we have subscribed in many international agreements impose upon us the moral responsibility to assume that leadership.

There are great differences among the Latin American countries as concerns political, economic and social progress toward the goals contemplated under the Inter-American System. Generalizations, therefore, cannot be extensive. Fundamental differences also exist between the people of the United States and the Latin American peoples with respect to language, cultural background, and experience in self-government. In spite of these obstacles, it should be possible to make substantial progress in finding solutions for the problems of our relations with the other American Republics, if we are guided by the following sound advice from Bryce's Modern Democracies:

"Do not give to a people institutions for which it is unripe. In the simple faith that the tool will give skill to the workman's hand. Respect facts. Man is in each country not what we may wish him to be, but what Nature and History have made him".

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A. OBJECTIVES

The objectives of the U.S. in its relations with the other American Republics are:

to obtain their support in the hemisphere and throughout the world for our principles, and their cooperation in the effort to bring about conditions which will make it possible for all peoples to work with hope and reasonable confidence to attain peace, security and improved standards of living;

to bring about more effective action in the development of the fundamental conditions of freedom proclaimed as the basis of the Organization of American States;

to convince the peoples of Latin America that representative government and human freedom hold much greater promise for them than does Communism;

to assure effective measures for the common defense of the Western Hemisphere;

to promote the development of all conditions and relations that are favorable to our national interests.

There is no practical dividing line between political and economic objectives. We seek:

to cooperate in attaining economic stability at high levels of production, trade and employment, as a necessary condition of political stability and progress toward effective democracy;

to obtain the support of the other American Republics for our general economic and trade objectives, which are in accord with the declaration made by the American States in the Economic Agreement of Bogotá "that it is their duty to cooperate toward the solution of their economic problems, and to conduct their international economic relations in the American spirit of good neighborliness";

to create favorable conditions, within these concepts, for U.S. business interests, and to protect U.S. nationals and their property.

II. POLICY ISSUES

In the political field, the U.S. is faced with the problem of dealing with dictatorial Latin American governments within a regional system based on democratic principles, and on doing so in such a way as not to violate a fair application of the policy of non-intervention in the affairs of another country. The Charter of the Organization of American States includes the following:

Article 11

The right of each State to protect itself and to live its own life does not authorize it to commit unjust acts against another State.

Article 15

No State or group of States has the right to intervene, directly or indirectly, for any reason whatever, in the internal or external affairs of any other State. The foregoing principle prohibits not only armed force but also any other form of interference or attempted threat against the personality of the State or against its political, economic and cultural elements.

Article 17

The territory of a State is inviolable; it may not be the object, even temporarily, of military occupation or of other measures of force taken by another State, directly or indirectly, on any grounds whatever. No territorial acquisitions or special advantages obtained either by force or by other means of coercion shall be recognized.

Article 19

Measures adopted for the maintenance of peace and security in accordance with existing treaties do not constitute a violation of the principles set forth in Articles 15 and 17.

A reading of this Charter and the Inter-American Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance, to cite only two of the pertinent treaties, justifies the conclusion that

some collective intervention will be necessary in certain cases if the Inter-American System is to be made to work in accordance with its declared principles.

Types of government in Latin American countries range from those based on representative democracy through authoritarian regimes controlled by a privileged class, and the typical Latin American military dictatorship, to an occasional ruthless Police State system very similar to the Hitler-Stalin model. Extreme poverty, a high rate of illiteracy, lack of adequate transportation and communication facilities, large masses of indigenous Indians and substantial numbers of unassimilable foreign peoples are among the factors which delay the development of electorates that would make representative government possible.

The U.S. must find means to persuade the educated and privileged classes of the Latin American countries to accept their direct responsibility for decent and representative government. Many of the Latin American countries have not yet demonstrated that they are capable of self-government. The U.S. is entirely justified in working more closely with those countries which really believe in our principles than with those which do not. We encourage an illusion of security if we fail to recognize and act upon the distinct limitation of inter-American solidarity. This does not mean that we will attempt to dictate forms of governments or courses of political action. It does mean that decisions which the U.S. has the right to make, and must make, will be shaped by our desire to promote progress toward human freedom and self-government throughout the hemisphere.

... 1944 ...

... which has been ... by DRA regarding political ...
... and ... in ... of the Latin American ...
... since about 1900 ... the U.S. Govern-
ment might secure the support of the majority of the
Latin American governments ... the leader-
ship in a sustained effort to ... the ... of
American States a vital force in the ... to attain
peace and peaceful world.

The U.S. Government faces the following policy
issues in the military field:

... genuine inter-American cooperation in
hemisphere defense is of importance to U.S.
security, particularly with respect to ...
and strategic materials;

... substantial degree of standardization
of training and equipment on U.S. standards
offers advantages in the planning of collective
defense measures;

... great care must be taken to avoid any addi-
tional burden on the economies of Latin American
countries, since few of them can afford even
their existing military establishments; but the
U.S. cannot dictate to Latin American Govern-
ments as concerns their respective national
defense requirements;

The U.S. should avoid strengthening military
dictatorships and increasing the political
influence of armed forces at the expense of
progress toward representative government;

The U.S. should avoid action in the field
of military cooperation that would lead to an
arms race in the Americas, or that would result
in the use of U.S. arms by Latin American Govern-
ments for purposes other than those of legitimate
national or hemisphere defense.

U.S. economic policies relating to Latin America
must be developed under difficult circumstances. The
following are among the factors which complicate
economic policy issues:

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There is no hope that the great majority of Latin American countries can, in the foreseeable future, achieve anything like the level of the U.S. standard of living, yet we must seek to convince those countries that our system of free enterprise offers the best prospect for economic betterment.

The conversion of free enterprise in Latin America generally is not to be that private vested interests are entitled to preferred treatment, rather than that free enterprise should mean opportunity for all and should be influenced by considerations of the general welfare;

U.S. Government cooperation to strengthen Latin American national economies is in our own national interest, but such cooperation must be based on prior action by Latin American Governments--action which most of them are reluctant to take--on the principle that we can only help them to help themselves in the long run and that, consequently, they themselves must create conditions that will encourage foreign investment and the establishment of foreign business enterprise in their countries;

Economic aid from the U.S. will not by itself prevent the spread of Communism in Latin America, unless accompanied by actions on the part of the Latin American and U.S. Governments to eliminate the conditions of economic and social injustice which play into the hands of Communism;

U.S. resources are limited and, in our own national interest, we should aid those who are our real friends, but should avoid the deliberate use of our economic power to exert political pressure;

U.S. policies must strike a wise balance between direct governmental aid and that part of economic cooperation which can best be carried out by private enterprise and business.

.....
(Sections B.1 Political, B.2 Economic, C. Relations with Other States and D. Policy Evaluation have been outlined in brief summary form only. In working up the draft of these sections, it is suggested that much of the material may be found in the following documents:

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tentative draft, dated December 18, 1946, of
"Current U.S. Policy toward the Other American
Republics"

Studies recently completed by the State Department
"Policy Developments and Trends Since 1900" in
each of the twenty other American Republics

A recent study by the State Department regarding "Development of
Democratic Principles and Procedures in the
Inter-American Regional System"

OS-26, March 22, 1948, entitled "To establish
U.S. Policy regarding anti-Communist measures
which could be planned and carried out within
the Inter-American system"

OS-24, March 15, 1948, entitled "To establish
the Policy of the Department regarding the
Recognition of New Governments")

II. POLICY ISSUES

1. Political

The section on specific political policies might
include the following among others:

The question of dealing with Latin American
governments, taking into account the principle
of non-intervention, according to (a) our own
national interest, (b) the real friendship and
support of a given country for the U.S.,
(c) the nature of representative government,
dictatorship, or totalitarianism which exists
in a given country;

The strength of Communism in Latin American
countries and how that should influence our
policies;

A consideration of which countries are of real
importance to us as concerns hemisphere defense
and military cooperation;

The Monroe Doctrine;

Protection of American citizens and property;

Implementation of inter-American treaties and
agreements;

The labor movement in Latin America;

U.S. information and cultural program.

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Latin American countries in the Americas
in regard to relations with the United States
and the experience of the United States in
Latin American countries.

Relations with the United States (Germany).

Relations between the Organization of American
States and the UN

Relations between the Organization of American
States and the Caribbean Commission

D. POLICY EVALUATION

Comment on the following subjects seems pertinent:

An appraisal of U.S. leadership in the organiza-
tion of American States

An estimate of the accomplishments and failures
of U.S. economic cooperation with the other
American Republics

An estimate of the extent to which U.S. policies
with respect to Latin American countries have
resulted in gaining the support of those countries
for the U.S. position in international affairs

An estimate of the successes and failures of U.S.
policies relating to hemisphere defense and
military cooperation with the Latin American
countries

The effectiveness of U.S. information and cultural
programs and policies with respect to Latin
America.